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IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
 FOR THE CENTRAL DISTRICT OF CALIFORNIA

RENO MAY, an individual, et al.,
 Plaintiffs,
 v.
**ROBERT BONTA, in his official
 capacity as Attorney General of the
 State of California, and Does 1-10,**
 Defendants.

Case Nos. 8:23-cv-01696 CJC (ADSx)
 8:23-cv-01798 CJC (ADSx)

**DECLARATION OF DR. MARY
 FISSELL IN SUPPORT OF
 DEFENDANT'S OPPOSITION TO
 PLAINTIFFS' MOTIONS FOR
 PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

Date: December 20, 2023
 Time: 1:30 p.m.
 Courtroom: 9B
 Judge: Hon. Cormac J. Carney

**MARCO ANTONIO CARRALERO, an
 individual, et al.,**
 Plaintiffs,
 v.
**ROBERT BONTA, in his official
 capacity as Attorney General of
 California,**
 Defendant.

DECLARATION OF DR. MARY FISSELL

I, Dr. Mary Fissell, declare under penalty of perjury that the following is true and correct:

1. I have been retained by the Office of the Attorney General of the California Department of Justice to provide expert opinion and testimony in the above-entitled matters regarding the history of medical facilities and hospitals in America. Specifically, I have been asked to opine regarding the similarities and differences between hospitals as they existed in the Founding era (in and around the year 1791) and hospitals as they exist in the modern era.

2. This declaration is based on my own personal knowledge and experience, and if I am called to testify as a witness, I could and would testify competently to the truth of the matters discussed in this declaration.

BACKGROUND AND QUALIFICATIONS

3. I hold an endowed chair in the Department of the History of Medicine at the Johns Hopkins University. I am the author of two well-received books in my field (my first—*Patients, Power and the Poor in Eighteenth-Century Bristol*—was about health care for the poor during the eighteenth century) and numerous peer-reviewed articles. To support that research, I have received a number of prestigious research grants and fellowships. For fifteen years, I edited the leading journal in the field, the *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, and I have trained over thirty MA and PhD students. A true and correct copy of my current curriculum vitae is attached as **Exhibit 1** to this declaration.

RETENTION AND COMPENSATION

4. I am being compensated for services performed in the above-entitled case at an hourly rate of \$400. My compensation is not contingent on the results of my analysis or the substance of any testimony.

OPINIONS

5. In late eighteenth-century America, the hospital was not yet the medical workplace it is today. There were four types of hospital in late eighteenth-century America: almshouses, voluntary hospitals, madhouses, and fever hospitals. Each of them was characterized by dependency; inmates were there primarily because they lacked any other resources.¹ Such institutions were scarce because America was largely a rural country, composed of villages and towns that lacked sufficient population to support a hospital.²

6. The earliest hospitals in the American colonies were all almshouses or poorhouses, located in the larger cities. They began as refuges for the desperately indigent, but since sickness was often a key cause of poverty, they quickly developed medical wards and often served as the last resort for poor pregnant women to deliver their babies.³ Such places were sometimes founded as charities, such as the New Orleans Charity Hospital, founded in 1736 with a bequest from a sailor.⁴ Others, such as Boston's Poor House (1686), New York City's Bellevue (1736), and Baltimore's Bayview, originally called the Baltimore Town and Country Almshouse (1773), were funded by municipal authorities seeking to

¹ Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Care of Strangers. The Rise of America's Hospital System*, (New York: Basic Books): 1987.

² Ruth Herndon Wallis and Amilcar Challu, "Mapping the Boston Poor: Inmates of the Boston Almshouse, 1795-1801," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*. Vol. 44 Issue 1 (Summer 2013): 61-81; Tim Lockley, "Rural Poor Relief in Colonial South Carolina," *Historical Journal*. Vol. 48 Issue 4, (Dec 2005): 955-976.

³ *Medicine and the Workhouse*, edited by Jonathan Reinartz and Leonard Schwarz, (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2013); Ruth Herndon Wallis, "Poor Women and the Boston Almshouse in the Early Republic," *Journal of the Early Republic*. Vol. 32 Issue 3 (Fall, 2012,) 349-381.

⁴ Todd Bourque, "L'Hôpital des Pauvres to Hospital de los Pobres: New Orleans' Charity Hospital in Spanish Colonial Louisiana," *Louisiana History*. Vol. 50 Issue 1 (Winter 2009): 57-70.

1 impose order in cities experiencing increasing waves of poverty.⁵ The only patients
2 in such places were people with no other choice.⁶

3 7. Almshouses were disciplinary institutions in which inmates' behavior
4 was highly regulated and governed by rules.⁷ In the Boston Poor House in 1739, for
5 example, rules specified that inmates must hear prayers twice a day and could not
6 smoke in bed, curse and swear, fight, or beg from visitors, who were forbidden
7 from bringing liquor into the house.⁸ Inmates had their days tightly scheduled,
8 structured around mealtimes, mandatory prayers twice a day, and oakum picking
9 (that is, unpicking rotting rope to make ships' caulking).⁹ Faking illness to avoid
10 work was punished, although the genuinely ill received medical care.¹⁰

11 8. Voluntary hospitals were modeled upon England's infirmary system,
12 which had developed in the eighteenth century.¹¹ Philadelphia's Pennsylvania
13 Hospital was founded in 1752; New York Hospital was organized in the early
14 1770s, but did not open its door to patients until 1790; and Massachusetts General
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18 ⁵ David M. Oshinsky, *Bellevue: Three Centuries of Medicine and Mayhem at America's*
19 *Most Storied Hospital*, (New York: Doubleday, 2016), 13-36; Toba Schwaber Kerson,
20 "Almshouse to Municipal Hospital: The Baltimore Experience," *Bulletin of the History of*
Medicine. Vol. 55 Issue 2, (Summer 1981): 203-220; Wallis, "Poor Women and the Boston
Almshouse".

21 ⁶ Seth Rockman, *Scraping By: Wage Labor, Slavery, and Survival in Early Baltimore*,
(Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009); John K. Alexander, "Institutional
22 Imperialism and the Sick Poor in Late Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia: The House of
Employment vs. The Pennsylvania Hospital," *Pennsylvania History*. Vol. 51 Issue 2 (Spring
23 1984): 101-117.

24 ⁷ "Rules and Orders for the Management of the Work House in Boston," in *The*
Eighteenth-Century Records of the Boston Overseers of the Poor, ed. Eric Nellis and Anne
Decker Cecere, Boston: (The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2007), 975-79.

25 ⁸ "Rules and Orders for the Management of the Work House in Boston," in *The*
Eighteenth-Century Records of the Boston Overseers of the Poor, ed. Eric Nellis and Anne
Decker Cecere, Boston: (The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2007), 975-79.

26 ⁹ "Rules and Orders for the Management of the Work House in Boston," 979, 977, 978.

27 ¹⁰ "Rules and Orders for the Management of the Work House in Boston," 978.

28 ¹¹ Mary E. Fissell, *Patients, Power and the Poor in Eighteenth-Century Bristol*,
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

1 Hospital followed in 1821.¹² Admissions to such hospitals were not based solely
 2 upon medical considerations, but on relationships of patronage and charity. In some
 3 institutions, a potential patient needed a letter from one of the hospital's donors;
 4 people had to draw upon their existing networks of patronage.¹³ In others, a hybrid
 5 of social and medical procedures governed admission.¹⁴ At the Pennsylvania
 6 Hospital, for example, a person seeking care was first seen by one of the doctors,
 7 but then by two of the hospital's visiting committee, well-to-do men who donated
 8 their time to the hospital. Only trauma cases were admitted with only a medical
 9 examination. The goal was always to distinguish between "worthy" and "unworthy"
 10 recipients of the hospital's care.¹⁵ No mention was made of specific rules governing
 11 patients' behavior in voluntary hospitals, because it was assumed that those who
 12 had managed to navigate the networks of charity and patronage to gain admission
 13 were going to be well-behaved.¹⁶

14 9. Such hospitals also cherry-picked their patients in order to have good
 15 recovery rates; the goal was to return a working man or woman to health and
 16 financial stability. For example, patients with ailments that seemed infectious often
 17 were not admitted, lest they spread disease.¹⁷ Chronic ailments, including
 18 consumption, the single biggest killer, were excluded, as were venereal diseases due
 19 to their immoral character, although the Pennsylvania Hospital took a few paying
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 22 ¹² William H. Williams, "The "Industrious Poor" And The Founding of The Pennsylvania
 23 Hospital," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography*. Vol. 97 Issue 4, (Oct 1973): 431-443;
 24 Eric Larrabee, *The Benevolent and Necessary Institution; The New York Hospital, 1771-1971*,
 (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, 1971); Nathaniel Ingersoll Ingersoll, *A History of the*
Massachusetts General Hospital, (Boston: J. Wilson & son, 1851)

¹³ Rosenberg, *Care of Strangers*, 22-6.

¹⁴ Rosenberg, *Care of Strangers*, 22-6.

25 ¹⁵ William H. Williams, "The "Industrious Poor" and the Founding of the Pennsylvania
 26 Hospital," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography*. Vol. 97 Issue 4, (Oct 1973): 431-443,
 see 440-441.

27 ¹⁶ William Gunn Malin, *Some Account of the Pennsylvania Hospital, Its Origin, Objects,*
and Present State, (Philadelphia: Printed by T. Kite & co., 1832), 6.

28 ¹⁷ Rosenberg, *Care of Strangers*, 23.

1 patients with such diseases.¹⁸ Many who suffered from such ailments ended up in
2 almshouses.

3 10. Aside from rules, personal accounts provide perspective on what
4 actually happened in almshouses and hospitals. One of the best witnesses to life in
5 such institutions is a clergyman, Ezra Stiles Ely, who published a book about his
6 experiences ministering to people in New York City's Almshouse and Hospital.¹⁹
7 The Almshouse was a place of last resort, for the sick, elderly, lunatic, and blind;
8 when the Hospital decided a patient was incurable, they were moved to the
9 almshouse.²⁰ Ely was critical of overcrowding and disorder in the institution,
10 providing detailed accounts in which he complained about men and women housed
11 in the same rooms and entering into sexual relations, about prostitutes who would
12 not reform, and about inmates accessing drink.²¹ However, the scenes of
13 deprivation and disorder that he described never included weapons of any kind,
14 which suggests that no weapons were present in the institution.²²

15 11. Inpatient mental health care was very rare in the American colonies
16 and early republic.²³ Pennsylvania Hospital was an exception, housing what were
17 called "lunatics," or the mad.²⁴ In the hospital, the insane, whose care might be paid
18 for by their families, had a higher ratio of attendants to patients than nurses to the
19 sick, indicating the realization that the mentally ill might need higher levels of
20 management. Those who were able performed various forms of labor, such as

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22 ¹⁸ Rosenberg, *Care of Strangers*, 24; Francis R. Packard, *Some Account of the*
Pennsylvania Hospital: 29-30.

23 ¹⁹ Ezra Stiles Ely, *The Journal of the Stated Preacher to the Hospital and Almshouse, in*
the City of New-York, for the year of Our Lord 1811, (New-York: Published by Whiting and
24 Watson, J. Seymour, printer, 1812).

25 ²⁰ Ezra Stiles Ely, *The Journal of the Stated Preacher*, 74.

26 ²¹ Ezra Stiles Ely, *The Journal of the Stated Preacher*, 22, 85, 86.

27 ²² Ezra Stiles Ely, *The Journal of the Stated Preacher*.

28 ²³ David Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New*
Republic, (Boston: Little, Brown, 1971).

²⁴ Nancy Tomes, "The Domesticated Madman: Changing Concepts of Insanity at the
Pennsylvania Hospital, 1780-1830," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History & Biography*, Vol. 106
Issue 2 (Apr 1982): 271-286.

1 knitting and chopping firewood.²⁵ It was only in the nineteenth century that
 2 separate asylums for the mentally ill were first built in America, sometimes in rural
 3 locations outside major cities, environments that were seen as beneficial to
 4 patients.²⁶

5 12. Fever hospitals were temporary institutions erected during epidemics.
 6 They were often intended to isolate the sick, and limit the spread of disease.²⁷
 7 During the 1793 yellow fever epidemic in Philadelphia, for example, the Guardians
 8 of the Poor appropriated an estate outside the city and fever patients were housed in
 9 the outbuildings. Chaos reigned as the epidemic raged on, and ultimately, about
 10 half of the patients in the fever hospital died.²⁸ Again, the patients of the fever
 11 hospital were the city's poorest; many of the city's better-off residents had fled the
 12 city and others were treated in their homes.²⁹

13 SUMMARY OF OPINIONS

14 13. Hospitals in late eighteenth and early nineteenth century America were
 15 very different from the high-tech medical workplaces that exist today. In early
 16 America, almost anyone with any financial resources received medical treatment in
 17 their home, not in an institution. The "worthy" poor might seek admission to a
 18 hospital if their medical complaints were treatable and they could activate networks
 19 of patronage to get a recommendation for admission. Anyone else went to
 20 almshouses. The two specialized types of hospitals, mental asylums and fever

21 ²⁵ Malin, *Some Account*, 20, 18.

22 ²⁶ Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum*; Nancy Tomes, *A Generous Confidence: Thomas Story Kirkbride and the Art of Asylum-Keeping, 1840-1883*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).

23 ²⁷ Toba Schwaber Kerson, "Almshouse to Municipal Hospital: The Baltimore Experience," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*. Vol. 55 Issue 2, (Summer 1981): 203-220.

24 ²⁸ J. H. Powell, *Bring Out Your Dead*, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press 1949). 233-59.

25 ²⁹ Billy G. Smith, *Ship of Death: A Voyage that Changed the Atlantic World*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 206-241; Jacquelyn C. Miller, "Beyond Therapeutics: Technology and the Question of Public Health in Late-Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia," in J. Worth Estes, et. al, eds, *A Melancholy Scene of Devastation: The Public Response to the 1793 Philadelphia Yellow Fever Epidemic*, (Canton, MA: Published for the College of Physicians of Philadelphia and the Library Company of Philadelphia by Science History Publications/USA, 1997).

1 hospitals, were also only for the poor. All of these institutions were oriented to
2 disciplining and improving the morals of their inmates as well as treating their sick
3 bodies.

4 14. To the extent that early hospital rules do not specify that inmates or
5 visitors could not carry firearms, this absence is due to the fact that the nature of
6 these institutions made it very unlikely that such a rule would be necessary. First,
7 the patients of these early hospitals were too impoverished to have the money
8 needed to acquire firearms; because this patient population did not own firearms,
9 there was no need for a specific rule prohibiting patients from carrying them.
10 Second, the emphasis that early America's hospitals placed upon order and
11 control—and the rules they imposed upon patients in their attempts to enforce such
12 order and control—would have made specific rules prohibiting the carry of firearms
13 redundant.

14 I declare under penalty of perjury under the laws of the United States of
15 America that the foregoing is true and correct.

16 Executed on October 20, 2023, at Baltimore, Maryland.

17 
18 _____

19 Dr. Mary Fissell
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Exhibit 1

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MARY E. FISSELL

Education

PhD History and Sociology of Science, University of Pennsylvania, May 1988.
MA History and Sociology of Science, University of Pennsylvania, May 1984.
BA History, University of Pennsylvania, May 1981.

Research Interests

Early-modern science and medicine; the patient's perspective in the history of medicine; gender, sexuality, and the history of the body; popular culture; books and reading in early modern England and the Atlantic world.

Positions Held

July 2023-June 2024, Interim Director, Department of the History of Medicine, The Johns Hopkins University.
Sept. 2022 - present, Inaugural J. Mario Molina Professor in the History of Medicine,
May 2005 - Aug 2022, Professor, Department of the History of Medicine,
Department of the History of Medicine, Johns Hopkins University. Hopkins University.
July-Dec. 2013, Acting Director, Department of the History of Medicine, The Johns Hopkins University.
Nov. 1994 - May 2005, Associate Professor, Department of the History of Science, Medicine, and Technology, Johns Hopkins University; additional appointments in the History and History of Science Departments.
Jan. 1992-Oct. 1994, Assistant Professor, Department of the History of Science, Medicine, and Technology, Johns Hopkins University.
July 1988-Dec. 1991, Lecturer and Research Associate, Wellcome Unit for the History of Medicine, University of Manchester.

Additional Professional Roles

Fall, 2020, Curator, "Picturing Pandemic Baltimore" photography exhibition, <https://tinyurl.com/ppbalt.>

June-Nov 2020, WHO Western Pacific Region COVID-19 "Futures" think tank.
January 2019, Marie Jahoda Visiting Chair in International Gender Studies, Ruhr Universität, Bochum, Germany.
Jan 2016-present, Project Organizer, Reading Early Medicine (REM), digital humanities project (with Elaine Leong, MPIWG Berlin).
Jan 2014-July 2020, Director, Online Program in the History of Medicine, The Johns Hopkins University.
Jan-July 2013, Visiting Fellow, History and Philosophy of Science, Cambridge University.
Jan 2012-present, Life Member, Clare Hall, Cambridge University.
Jan-July 2011, Visiting Fellow, Clare Hall, Cambridge University.
Jan-July 2011, Co-Curator, *Books & Babies*, exhibit, Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, England. <http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/exhibitions/Babies/index.html>; <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/health-14110843>.
Sept 2006-April 2007, Director, Folger Seminar, "Vernacular Health and Healing", Folger Shakespeare Institute, Washington, DC.
Jan. 2006-July 2021, Co-Editor, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*.
1996-99, Section Editor, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, "Women and Medicine".
July 2023-June 2024 Acting Director, Dep't of the History of Medicine, The Johns Hopkins University.

Publications

Books

Patients, Power and the Poor in Eighteenth-Century Bristol, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.

Manchester Women's History Group (six member group including Mary Fissell), *Resources for Women's History in Greater Manchester*, Manchester: National Labour History Museum, 1993.

Vernacular Bodies: The Politics of Reproduction in Early Modern England, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. [<http://www.oup.co.uk/isbn/0-19-926988-2>].
Paperback edition, Fall, 2006. See Forum on *Vernacular Bodies*, *Journal of Women's History*, 22 (3), 2010: 185-213.

Articles

"'The Sick and Drooping Poor' in Eighteenth Century Bristol", *Social History of Medicine*. 1989; 2(1): 35-58.

"The Disappearance of the Patient's Narrative", in Andrew Wear and Roger French, eds., *Medicine in an Age of Reform*, London: Routledge, 1991: 92-109.

"Charity Universal: The Founding of the Bristol Infirmary", in Lee Davison, et al., eds., *Stilling the Grumbling Hive: Debates on Social and Economic Problems in England 1698-1740*, Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1992: 121-144.

"Readers, Texts and Contexts: Vernacular Medical Works in Early Modern England." in Roy Porter, ed., *The Popularization of Medicine 1650-1850*, London: Routledge, 1992: 72-96.

"Health in the City: Putting Together the Pieces." *Urban History*. 1992; 19 (3): 251-56.

"Innocent and Honourable Bribes: Medical Manners in Eighteenth-Century England." in Robert Baker, Dorothy Porter and Roy Porter, eds., *The Codification of Morality: Historical and Philosophical Studies of the Formalization of Western Medical Morality in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, Dordrecht: Kluwer Press, 1993: 19-45.

"Eighteenth-century Medical History." *Eighteenth Century Life*. 1995; 19(2): 98-102.

"Gender and Generation: Representing Reproduction in Early Modern England", *Gender and History*, 7 (1995): 433-456. Reprinted in *The Sexualities in History Reader*, ed. Kim Phillips and Barry Reay, London: Routledge, 2001.

"Constructing Vermin in Seventeenth-Century England", *History Workshop Journal*, no. 47 (1999): 1-29. Reprinted in *Identity and Alterity*, ed. William Chester Jordan and Angela Creager, Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2002.

and Kathleen Coyne Kelley, "Virtuous Bodies: Constructing a History of the Hymen", in *Attending to Early Modern Women*, ed Jane Donawerth and Adele Seef, College Park: University of Maryland Press, (2000): 96-98.

"Hairy Women and Naked Truths: Gender and the Politics of Knowledge in *Aristotle's Masterpiece*," *William and Mary Quarterly* 60 (2003): 43-74.

"Making a Masterpiece: The *Aristotle* Texts in Vernacular Medical Culture." in Charles E. Rosenberg, ed., *Right Living: An Anglo-American Tradition of Self-Help Medicine*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, (2003): 59-87.

and Roger Cooter, "Exploring Natural Knowledge: Science and the Popular in the Eighteenth Century", *Cambridge History of Science*, vol. 4, *Science in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Roy Porter, Cambridge University Press, (2003): 145-179.

"Making Meaning from the Margins: The New Cultural History of Medicine." John Warner and Frank Huisman, eds., *Medical History: The Stories and their Meanings*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, (2004): 364-89.

- "The Politics of Reproduction in the English Reformation." *Representations* 87 (Summer 2004): 43-81.
- "The Marketplace of Print" in Mark Jenner and Pat Wallis, eds. *Medicine and the Market in England and Its Colonies*, London: Palgrave, (2007): 108-132.
- "Introduction: Women, Health, and Healing in Early Modern Europe", *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 82 (Spring 2008): 1-17.
- "The Doctor-Patient Relationship", Robert Baker and Lawrence McCullough, eds., *The Cambridge History of Medical Ethics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, (2009): 501-17.
- "Healing Spaces", in Laura Lunger Knoppers, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Early Modern Women's Writing*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).
- "Going Vernacular", *Journal of Women's History*, 22 (3), (2010): 209-213.
- "Popular Medical Books", Joad Raymond, ed. *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, vol 1: Beginnings to 1660*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 418-431. Volume is winner of the Sixteenth Century Society and Conference (SCSC) Bainton Literature Prize.
- "A Book of Receipts of All Sorts: Elizabeth Strachey, 1693-1730s", in Michael Sappol, ed, *Hidden Treasure*, (New York: Blast Books, 2012): 204-5.
- "Women and Medicine." in *Oxford Bibliographies in Renaissance and Reformation*, Ed. Margaret King. New York: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- "Material Texts and Medical Libraries in the Digital Age", *RBM a Journal of Rare Books Manuscripts and Cultural Heritage*, (2014): 135-145.
- "Remaking the Maternal Body in England, 1680–1730", *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, Vol. 26, No. 1, January 2017, 114-139.
- "Man-Midwifery Revisited", in *Reproduction: Antiquity to the Present Day*, ed. Nick Hopwood, Rebecca Flemming, Lauren Kassell, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018): 319-332.
- "Aristotle's Masterpiece", in *Reproduction: Antiquity to the Present Day*, ed. Nick Hopwood, Rebecca Flemming, Lauren Kassell, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018): 672.
- with Jeremy Greene et al, editor, Special Issue on COVID-19, *Bulletin of the History*

of Medicine, 94:4 (2020).

with Jeremy Greene, et. al., "Introduction", Special Issue on COVID-19, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 94:4 (2020): 543-561.

with Guido Alfani, Mary Augusta Brazelton, et. al., "History as a Partner In Public Health: A Report of the Foresight Think Tank on the History of Pandemics", WHO.

with Suzanne Bell, "A Little Bit Pregnant? Productive Ambiguity and Fertility Research", *Population and Development Review* vol. 47:2 (June 2021): 1-22.

Sally Pezaro, Karen Maher, and Mary Fissell, "Midwives Need a Useable Past to Shape their Future", *The Lancet*, vol. 399, issue 10329, p.1046-1047, March 12, 2022, DOI:[https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736\(22\)00231-8](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(22)00231-8).

with Elizabeth Atkins, "Marking Maternity: Integrating Historical and Archaeological Evidence for Reproduction in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries", in *The Material Body: Embodiment, History and Archaeology in England, 1700-1880*, ed. Elizabeth Atkins and Karen Harvey, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2023): 47-80.

Forthcoming/In Press:

"Reproducing Ballads," in *Early Modern Medicine: A Source-Centered Introduction*, ed. Olivia Weisser, (London: Routledge Press, 2024).

"Prying in the the Secrets of Nature: Reading Aristotle's Masterpiece," in *Sources and Methods in the History of Sexuality*, ed. Anna Clark and Elizabeth Williams, (London: Routledge, 2025).

"Medicine, Science, and Magic," in *The New Cambridge History of Britain, Volume 5: 1500-1750*, ed. Susan Amussen and Paul Monod, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2025).

"Pigeons and Blasphemy: Tracing Abortion in Colonial Courtrooms," *Nursing Clio*.

Interview, *History of Pharmacy and Pharmaceuticals*, special issue on abortion.

Non-Peer-Reviewed Articles

"Women and Water". *Women's Health in Primary Care*. 1998; 1(1): 110.

"Domestic Consumption". *Women's Health in Primary Care*. 1998; 1(2): 198.

"The Birth of Gossip". *Women's Health in Primary Care*. 1998; 1(3): 298.

[and subsequent monthly columns to March 2001]

Recent Invited Lectures:

- Nov. 2018, "Under the Bed and in the Factory Canteen: 20th-century Readers of *Aristotle's Masterpiece*" The History of the Medical Book, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.
- Jan. 2019, "The Extraordinary Affair at Walworth: An Abortionist in Early 19th Century London", Inaugural Marie Jahoda Lecture, Ruhr Universität, Bochum, Germany.
- Jan. 2019, "Aristotle's Masterpiece – The Young Folks Bible: Sexual Knowledge and Courtship, 1680-1800", University of Bielefeld, Bielefeld, Germany.
- Jan. 2019, "Reading Sex: The History of a Popular Medical Manual, 1684-1930" Institute for Ethics, History and Theory of Medicine, LMU, Munich, Germany.
- March 2020, "Before Sex Ed", Center for the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine, Philadelphia.
- March 2022, "The Extraordinary Affair at Walworth: An Abortion Provider in 19th Century London", Delbert McQuade Distinguished Lectureship in History, Juniata College, Huntingdon, PA.
- Sept. 2022, Inaugural Lecture, J. Mario Molina Professorship, Johns Hopkins University.
- March 2023, "Abortion and the Reformation: Women, Witchcraft, and Repression" University of Maryland, Baltimore County.
- April 2023, "The Long View", Abortion History Workshop, Exeter University, Exeter, UK.
- April 2023, "Abortion and the Reformation: Women, Witchcraft, and Repression" Montclair State University, Montclair, NJ.

Recent Outreach, Podcasts, etc.

- Nov. 2022, "Cesarean Section Surgery in 16th Century England", That Shakespeare Life, <http://www.cassidycash.com/ep238>
- Feb. 2022, BBC History Extra, "Periods, fertility & childbirth: a pre-modern history", <https://shows.acast.com/historyextra/episodes/periods-fertility-childbirth-a-pre-modern-history>
- Sept. 2021, "Making Babies in the 17th Century", *Not Just the Tudors*, podcast, <https://play.acast.com/s/not-just-the-tudors/makingbabiesinthe17thcentury>
- March 2021 JHU DAR Women's History Month Talk: "Call the Midwife: Sarah Stone, Eighteenth-century Midwife"

Feb. 2021 JHU SAIS European Alumni meeting: “The Pandemic in Global Historical Context”

Dec. 2020 BBC History Extra, “The History of Medicine: Everything You Wanted to Know”

<https://www.historyextra.com/period/modern/history-medicine-medical-everything-you-wanted-know-podcast/>

Nov. 2020 “*Aristotle’s Masterpiece: Early Modern Sex Ed*”, Historical Perspectives On Contemporary Issues, CHSTM, <https://www.chstm.org/earlymodernsexed>

“Pandemics Come and Go. The Way People Respond to Them Barely Changes.” *Washington Post*, May 7, 2020. <https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/2020/05/07/coronavirus-bubonic-plague-london/>

March 2017, Undark podcast: <https://soundcloud.com/undark-magazine/ep12-wear-and-tear#t=0:00>.

“When the Birds and the Bees Were Not Enough: Aristotle’s Masterpiece”, *Public Domain Review*, August 20, 2015, <http://publicdomainreview.org/2015/08/19/when-the-birds-and-the-bees-were-not-enough-aristotles-masterpiece/>

Reviews

Book reviews in *Isis*, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, *Social History of Medicine*, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History*, *Medical History*, *History and Philosophy of the Life Sciences*, *Journal of British Studies*, etc., etc.

Grants and Awards

1992-93 Course development grant, Hughes Foundation.

1997-8 Fellowship, Shelby Cullom Davis Center for Historical Studies, History Department, Princeton University.

1997 Fellowship, American Council of Learned Societies (declined).

2000 Fellowship, Folger Institute, Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC.

2001-2002 Grant, National Library of Medicine (NIH 1 G13 LM07054-01).

2005 *Vernacular Bodies*, Honorable Mention, Katharine Briggs Folklore Award.

2010-2012, Grant, National Library of Medicine (NIH 1G13LM010198-01).

2023 Discovery Grant, The Johns Hopkins University, \$100,000.

2023 Teaching Improvement Grant, The Johns Hopkins University, \$12,000.

University Service

Medical School Admissions Committee, 1992-1995.
Medical School Admissions Screening Committee, 1996-1998.
Medical School Council, 1995-1999.
Dean's Teaching Fellowship Selection Committee, 1993, 1995, 1998.
Women's Studies Faculty Board, 1995-2000, 2014-15.
Organized departmental colloquium series. 1992-1993, 1996-1997, 1999-2000.
Organized series of outside speakers on "Women, Medicine and History", funded by Hughes Foundation. 1992-1995.
Consultant, Mary Garrett website, Chesney Archives, 2003-5
Chair search committee, Chinese Medicine, 2004.
Chair search committee, Early Medicine, 2005-6.
Member, search committee, 2011-12.
Professionalism Sub-Committee, Curriculum Reform, 2004-6.
Co-Director, Scholarly Concentration, designed, implemented, and taught medical school program in history of medicine. 2009-2012.
Chair, Website Committee, oversaw planning and design of new department website. 2013-14.
Director, Online Program In the History of Medicine, 2014-2020. Directed creation and implementation of new online program, including accreditation, curriculum development, administration, and pedagogy.
Member, PhD COVID Relief Fellowship Selection Committee, 2021-2.

Professional Societies and Service

Member: American Association for the History of Medicine; American Historical Association; North American Conference on British Studies.

Honorary Secretary, Society for the Social History of Medicine (U.K.), 1990-1992.
Article Prize Committee, Berkshire Conference of Women in History, 1993-97.
Program Committee, American Association for the History of Medicine, 1996.
Osler Prize Committee, American Association for the History of Medicine, 1996, 1999.
Shryock Prize Committee, American Association for the History of Medicine, 2003, chair 2005.
Education and Outreach Committee, American Association for the History of Medicine, 2003-6.
Advisory Board member, H-Sci-Med-Tech, 2006-present.
Jameson Prize Committee, American Historical Association, 2009.
Chair, Dan David Prize Committee, "Past", 2021.
Referee for *American Historical Review*, *William and Mary Quarterly*, *Medical History*, *Social History of Medicine*, *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, *Gender & History*, etc.
Referee for university presses including Yale, Oxford, Chicago, Manchester, etc.
Referee for Wellcome Trust, Hannah Foundation, Philadelphia Area Consortium in

the History of Science, ACLS, Folger Institute, Huntington Library, Research Triangle; Institute for Advanced Study, Advanced Study, etc.
Vice-President, president-elect, American Association for the History of Medicine, May 2022-2024
Chair, Task Force on the Future of Meetings, American Association for the History of Medicine, May 2023-

Conferences (last 5 years)

Organized conference, "The History of the Medical Book," The Huntington Library, San Marino, CA, Nov. 2018.
Organized panel, "Teaching and Researching the Early Modern with Digital Tools", Renaissance Society of America, March 2019.
Organized panel, "Digital Tools for Teaching Early Medicine to a New Generation," AAHM, May 2021.
Organized panel, "Publication and Patient Privacy: A Round-Table on Editorial Practice" AAHM, May 2021.
Speaker, WHO Western Pacific Region COVID-19 "Futures" Conference, August 2021.
Presentation: "Print, Pills, and Promotion in Seventeenth-Century London", AAHM, May 2022.
Co-organized "Roe v. Wade at 50" workshop and public panel, The Johns Hopkins University, March 2023.
Commentator: "Art and Abortion," 2 sessions, Association for Art History, London, England, 2023.

Invited Presentations (last 5 years)

April 2018, (joint keynote address with Karin Wulf, Director, Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture), "Rethinking Narratives of Family and Kinship in the British Atlantic", MACBS, U MD College Park.
April 2018, "Becoming Obscene", SUNY Buffalo, Buffalo, NY.
Nov. 2018, "Under the Bed and in the Factory Canteen: 20th-century Readers of *Aristotle's Masterpiece*" The History of the Medical Book, Huntington Library, San Marino, CA.
Jan. 2019, "The Extraordinary Affair at Walworth: An Abortionist in Early 19th Century London", Inaugural Marie Jahoda Lecture, Ruhr Universität, Bochum, Germany.
Jan. 2019, "Aristotle's Masterpiece – The Young Folks Bible: Sexual Knowledge and Courtship, 1680-1800", University of Bielefeld, Bielefeld, Germany.
Jan. 2019, "Reading Sex: The History of a Popular Medical Manual, 1684-1930" Institute for Ethics, History and Theory of Medicine, LMU, Munich, Germany.
March 2020, "Before Sex Ed", Center for the History of Science, Technology, and Medicine, Philadelphia.

March 2022, ““The Extraordinary Affair at Walworth: An Abortion Provider in 19th Century London”, Delbert McQuade Distinguished Lectureship in History, Juniata College, Huntingdon, PA.

Sept. 2022, Inaugural Lecture, J. Mario Molina Professorship, Johns Hopkins University.

March 2023, "Abortion and the Reformation: Women, Witchcraft, and Repression," University of Maryland, Baltimore County, Baltimore.

April 2023, “The Long View”, Abortion History Workshop, Exeter University, Exeter, UK.

April 2023, "Abortion and the Reformation: Women, Witchcraft, and Repression," Montclair State University, Montclair, NJ.

Recent Outreach

Dec. 2016, Interviewed on NPR program, "The Seahorse in Your Brain: Where Body Parts Got Their Names."

March 2017, Interviewed on Undark podcast: <https://soundcloud.com/undark-magazine/ep12-wear-and-tear#t=0:00>.

BBC History Extra consultant, Fall 2020.

Chaired commentary, “Viriditas”, Alkemie (early music concert), Art, Heath and Healing, Johns Hopkins School of Medicine, April 2021.

“Pandemics”, SAIS European Alumni Conversation, April 2021.

Courses Taught

Undergraduate:

Humans and Animals, 1993, 1996.

History of Modern Medicine, [undergraduate course team-taught with Dr. Harry Marks], 1996, 1997, 2001, taught solo 2003, 2006.

History of Medicine: Antiquity to the Scientific Revolution, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2014, 2019, 2021.

Health and Healing in Early-Modern England, 1993, 1996.

Making Monsters: The Natural History of the Unnatural, [team-taught with Dr. Gabrielle Spiegel & Dr. Ruth Leys], 1994.

Women and Medicine, 1993, 1994, 1995, 2002.

Medicine and Magic, 1993.

Graduate:

A History of the Early Modern Body, 1994.

History of Modern Medicine, [team-taught with Dr. Harry Marks], 1992, 93, 94, 95,

96, 97, 99, 01, 03, taught solo 2006.
History of Medicine: Antiquity to the Scientific Revolution, 2009, 2011, 2012, 2014, 2019, 2021.
Online Survey 1: Classical Antiquity to the Early Middle Ages 2016, 2018, 2019, 2020.
Online Survey 2: Medicine from the Black Death to the Scientific Revolution, 2016, 2018, 2020.
Online Introduction to the History of Medicine, 2016; 2017, 2018.
Online Research Practicum, 2017, 2019.
What is the Cultural History of Medicine (Science and Technology)?, 2002.
An Introduction to Historical Methods, 1998, 2005, 2007.
Popular Knowledge, 1993, 1999, 2003, 2006.
Colonial Knowledge, 2008.
Medicine from Patients' Perspectives, 1992, 1995.
Issues in Early Modern Medicine, 2004, 2006, 2008.
Online Program Methods in the History of Medicine, 2020.
The Work of Healing: Medicine and Materiality, 2020.

Medical School:

Social History of the Patient (PAS 2 selective), 1995, 1996, 1998, 1999, 2000.
Historical Perspectives on Gender, Race and Medicine (PAS 1 selective), 2003, 2004, 2007, 2008.
Scholarly Concentration in the History of Medicine 2009-2010

Mentoring

Advisees:

Nyssa Strottman, MA 1994, currently practicing law.
Susan Ferry, PhD 2003.
Maggy Brown, 1992-1996, deceased.
Trudy Eden, 1992-1998, completed PhD with another advisor 1999, associate professor, Northern Iowa State University.
Kathleen Crowther, PhD 2000, associate professor, University of Oklahoma.
Shoshanna Green, 1993-96.
Alexa Green, PhD 2007, nursing school.
Allison Kavey, 1999-2003, completed PhD with another advisor 2003, assistant professor, John Jay College of Criminal Justice.
Manon Parry, MA 2002, Assistant Professor, University of Amsterdam.
Massimo Petrozzi, PhD 2010, Archivist, The Computer Museum, Mountain View, CA.
Melissa Grafe PhD 2009, Director, Cushing-Whitney Medical Historical Library, Yale University, CT.
Nick Stanzo MLA 2004.
Olivia Weissner PhD 2010, associate professor, U Mass Boston.
Barbara Chubak MA, MD 2007; assistant professor, Einstein College of Medicine,

NY.

Lisa Boulton, PhD 2014.

Alicia Puglionesi, PhD 2014, writer and independent scholar.

Katherine Arner, PhD 2014, History Department, Park School, Baltimore.

Seth LeJacq, PhD 2016; assistant professor, New York Institute.

Claire Gherini, PhD co-supervised with History Dep't 2016, assistant professor, Fordham University.

Brooke Lansing, History Dep't, PhD 2023, post doc JHU.

Michelle Silva, MA 2022.

Paul Child, MA 2023, prof. Sam Houston State.

Chris Sloffer, MA 2023.

Anna Weerasinghe, PhD 2023, working in communication, Washington DC.

Emily Clark, student.

Sheridon Ward, co-supervised History Dep't, student.

Katarina Sawtelle, MA student.

Cole Giller, MA student.

Ryan Falk, MA student.

Julie Lemmon, MA student.